513 [514] on the ground in the position known by the name "aztec"--on their knees, the legs and feet flat on their inner side and the buttocks resting on the heels. Or else they cut, polish and file beads from nutshells or sea shells, earrings or other ornaments. And if the work bores them, they pick the lice from one another, stroll around or sleep.

512 521 During the warmest hours the camp is silent. The inhabitants, silent or asleep, enjoy the uncertain shade of the shelters. The rest of the time, the occupations are carried on with animated conversations. Nearly always gay and laughing, the Indians exchange jokes, and sometimes, with unmistakable gestures, obscene or scatological accounts which are greeted with great shouts of laughter. The work is often interrupted by mutual visits or questions; when two dogs or birds copulate, everybody stops and contemplates the operation with fascinated interest; then work is taken up again, after an exchange of commentaries about this important happening.

512 The children lounge around during a great part of the day, the girls surrendering themselves at times to the same jobs as their elders, the boys idle or fishing along a stream of water. The men remaining in camp dedicate themselves to basketwork, making arrows and musical instruments, and sometimes to performing some small domestic service. Complete accord usually reigns within the household. Toward three or four o'clock, the other men return from the hunt, the camp becomes animated, the conversation becomes livelier, groups form, different from family agglomerations. They eat yucca cakes [262] and everything found during the day: fish, roots, wild honey, bats, 524 little animals captured, and small sweet nuts from the palm bacaiuva (Acrocomia sp.). Sometimes a child begins to cry, quickly [558] consoled by an elder. When night falls some women, chosen daily, go to collect or cut down in the neighboring woods the store of wood 512 for the [17] night. They can be seen returning in the twilight, 513 staggering under the load which pulls the tumpline used for carrying 482 it. To unload, they crouch and lean backwards a little, letting their bundle of bamboo rest on the ground in order to disengage the tumpline from their forehead.

512 In a corner of the camp the branches are amassed and each one supplies himself in proportion to his needs. The family groups form around their respective fires which begin to glow. The evening is passed in conversation, or else in singing and dancing. Sometimes these distractions are prolonged far into the night, but in general, after some amusements of caressing and friendly fighting, the couples draw closer together, the mothers clutch their sleeping infants to them, everything becomes silent, and the cold night is

It is certain that they are perfectly aware of this peculiarity. When one does not understand them and asks them to repeat, they exaggerate maliciously, and more each time, the style that is particular to them, and when one desists, discouraged, they laugh and exchange jokes. They have succeeded. This is especially true of young women who do not yet have children, and of young concubines. The mothers and older women stress these differences less, although one also finds them among this group upon occasion. Besides, the young women like the society of children and adolescents, play and joke constantly with them; and it is the women who take care of the animals in that very human way peculiar to certain South American Indians. All this contributes to creating a special atmosphere around the women, in the interior of the group, at the same time child-like, happy, affected and provocative, in which the men participate when they return from the hunt or the gardens.

But a completely different attitude is manifested among the women when they are to undertake some one of the forms of activity which are especially intrusted to them. They accomplish their tasks as artisans with ability and patience, in the solitary camp, arranged in a circle and with their backs to one another, and, during trips they valiantly carry the heavy basket which contains the provisions and riches of the whole family and the quiver of arrows, while the husband walks ahead with the bow and one or two arrows, the wooden spear or the digging implement, looking for the flight of an animal or a fruit tree. One sees these women then, the forehead bound with the tump line, the back completely covered by the wide basket in the form of an inverted bell, walking for kilometers with their characteristic step: [58] the thighs very tense, the knees together, the ankles turned out, the feet turned in; leaning on the outer edge of the foot and moving the hips, courageous, energetic and gay. We give on the opposite page a chart of the division of tasks between the sexes, but this division should be interpreted in a less strict manner than usual for phenomena of this type. Among the Nambikwara collaboration between husband and wife is carried so far that many tasks are done jointly. More exactly, if the man rarely intervenes in feminine tasks, the woman on the other hand (and above all the supplementary wives in case of polygamy) unceasingly aid their husband. We have indicated by crosses between parentheses the cases where a task attributed to one sex is occasionally practiced by the other. Thus, when they are alone or among themselves, the men do the carrying, but they do not carry from the forehead (senastkitiu, al).

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like the women, but from the shoulder (adiyisi'kititu, al), and frequently lightening the load by dragging the strap in the left hand, which they explain by saying that they need to watch out for possible game. And they naturally do not neglect collecting and gleaning whenever the occasion is presented or necessity is felt. In like manner, the women normally aid their husbands (especially the polygamous wives) in their work in the gardens. Both sexes cut down wood, the men for constructing huts or shelters and for making bows, arrows, spears and clubs, etc., and the women, more often, for the fire wood. Above all, and when she is not occupied by her own work, the woman aids her husband in all the tasks that are his. She holds his implements, gives them to him when he asks for them, supports the end of the arrow or the wood of the bow while he repairs or polishes them, or begins to twist the cord while he finishes the wooden part. She does the retouching and finishes the work. This frequent and always harmonious collaboration gives the impression that the sexual division of labor is much less strict among the Nambikwara than it is commonly, and sometimes one might even think it non-existent. This is not so; but the rule is constantly made flexible or masked by the unity of the couple.

601 As we have shown in studying the kinship system all the classifi-
602 catory contemporaries of an individual belonging to a different sex are divided by him into husbands and wives, and brothers and sisters. We have found no term which designates the actual spouse, and allows one to distinguish him in conversation from the classifying spouse. A man calls his wife or wives, and his cross-cousins (fem.) indiscriminately asjeru, as the woman designates her husband and her cross-cousins (masc.) by the same term oweasesu. But, of course, behavior is very different in the two cases. It has just been seen to what extent relationships are close and active between true husband and wife. As regards his potential wives, a man does not adopt any particular attitude, and the relationships do not seem to be either [59] [Table: Sexual Division of Labor] more or less intimate than those which he carries on with his sisters (the same remark is true as regards the relationship of a woman with her potential husbands and her brothers). In these two cases, the relationships are characterized by [60] great reserve, the individuals involved do not pay much attention to one another and rarely address one another except for definite reasons. But it is a question here of a mass attitude, conditioned by usage, rather than of an over-all picture of conscious and stylized reactions. The Indians do not seem to perceive

[Text continues on p. 61]

piece of small animal. a5 asks for part of it and a4 answers: "Let your father give you his." These relationships bring about a rather curious consequence: the young girls become independent more rapidly than the boys. They follow the young wives, take part in their activities, while the boys, left to themselves, timidly try to adapt themselves to the group but without great success, and usually remain, at least in earliest childhood, beside their mothers.

[70] Considering now the relationships of children among themselves, the most striking characteristic is the absence of play. In certain groups (central and south), the children manufacture, although rarely, small objects of rolled or braided straw, but generally they know no other distraction than fights or contests which they do together, and lead an existence modeled on that of the adults. In fact, they carry on the normal day of the women: in the morning, preparing the manioc, then the cumaru nuts, bathing when it begins to get warm; when the sun is very high, retiring to the shade, and before night, gathering wood for the fire. Likewise, the girls learn to weave, they walk around, laugh, sleep. The little boys do not begin to play with little bows and imitate the male pursuits until much later (from 8 to 10 years on). But all become rapidly conscious of the fundamental and sometimes tragic problem of Nambikwara life, that of nourishment, and of the active role that is expected of them. They take part in the harvesting and collecting expeditions with great excitement. In time of need, it is not rare to see them seek their own food outside the camp, working to unearth roots, or walking in the grass on tiptoe, a large stripped branch in hand, to catch grasshoppers. The little girls know what an important role the women have in the economic life of the tribe, and are impatient to make themselves worthy of it. Thus, we find a young girl (b9) who tenderly carries a puppy in the rump line that her mother uses for her little sister, and we make the remark:

16. najuitte ałkyage
She caresses the little puppy?

Her mother answers me:

uałkyatmore uainuetuikade?ena tłgnaiene
The little girl caresses the puppy (because she wishes) to raise it.

to which the little girl adds gravely:

857 b5, who insists that the treatment that one gives the small ani-
609 mal to divest it of its hair be applied to the ethnologist:

21. nĩ inyenĩghee nũugeguedne (b1)
Put his beard in the fire! Roast his beard!

857 In general, they are to be good companions, enthusiastic, and
157 untiringly avid for games that are shown them. In exchange, they are very obliging informants once they have become friends. Al-
[55] most all the information which we were able to gather concerning proper names comes from them.[1]

231 This chapter cannot be ended without presenting some observations relating to domestic animals. Not only do the children actually live in very intimate relationships with the animals, but the latter are treated in the family like real children at least outwardly. We mean that they share the group's food, benefit from the same manifestations of tenderness or interest—delousing, games, conversation, caresses—as the human beings. In everything, their treatment is [73] curiously the same. The Nambikwara have numerous domestic animals, first of all dogs, and cocks and hens, who are all descendants of those introduced in their region by the Rondon Commission; monkeys, parakeets, birds of various kinds, and finally, the caetetu, the coati (Nasua sp.), the jaguatirica. Only the dog seems to have acquired an
[229] occasionally utilitarian role in the service of women, for hunting with the digging stick (cf. quotation No. 16). The men never use them for hunting with bow and arrow. The other ani-
231 mals are raised for the purpose of pleasure. They are not eaten,
262 the people do not consume the eggs of the hens who lay them in the bush. But they do not hesitate to devour a young bird if it dies after a vain attempt at acclimatization.

The terms used for behavior regarding animals are the same as those used for humans. They say dehẽna ũ'tte ũ'kwage, "the woman caresses the baby," or ũ'ngette ũ'kwage, "the woman caresses the puppy."

231 While traveling, except for the animals capable of walking,
● 482 the whole menagerie is packed with the other baggage. The monkeys, attached to the women's hair, adorn them with an amusing living helmet, elongated by the long tail curled around the neck of the bearer. The parakeets and hens perch on top of the baskets, other animals are held in the arms. None of them receive abundant nourishment but, even in days of need, they
231 521 have their share, however little it may be. As compensation, they are an endless subject of distraction for the group, the

[1] [i.e. From the children.--Analyst]

1: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

[End Plate I]

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1. Characteristic aspect of the savannah during the dry season. 2. A native garden in the middle of the gallery forest. 3. Travelling.

1: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

[End Plate IV]

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1. Return from the bath. 2. Native C11 leaving for a solitary hunting expedition. 3-4. Camp life (cf. p. 16). 5. Little girl looking for edible roots and carrying a little monkey (Lagothrix sp.) on her head. 6. The two little girls a8 and a9 (cf. p. 42).

[End Plate V]

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1. The little girl b6 and her dog (cf. p. 70). 2. Three sisters-in-law debeaning each other (cf. p. 75). 3-4. Erotic games (A1 and a4) are hard to distinguish from contests of friendly scuffling where children add themselves willingly to the secondary wives and their husband (cf. pp. 62 and 69).

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

[621] 622 tnations, and the ascent or decline of individuals and groups follow each other in a rather surprising manner.

How will the chief be able to overcome these difficulties? The first instrumental force of his power lies in his generosity. Generosity —an all important feature of chieftainship among most primitive peoples, especially in America—plays an outstanding part even on those crude cultural levels where worldly goods are limited to the most primitive weapons and tools, coarse ornaments made of feathers, shells and bones, and raw materials, such as lumps of resin and wax, hanks of fiber and splinters of bamboo for arrow-making. There cannot be great economic distinctions between families each of which can pack [462] all of its belongings in the baskets carried along by the women during [558] the long travels of the dry season. But, although the chief does not seem to fare better, in this respect, than the others, he must always have at hand surpluses of food, tools, weapons, ornaments which, while being small indeed, acquire great value because of the scarcity which is the prevalent condition. When an individual, a family or the band itself needs or covets something, the chief is called upon to secure the desired article. Generosity is the quality, much speculated on, which is expected of a new chief. Generosity is the string constantly struck which makes the general consent to one's leadership sound clear or out of tune. There is little doubt that, in this respect, the chief's ability to give is exploited to the utmost. Band chiefs used to be my best informants, and, well aware of their difficult position, I liked to reward them liberally; but I seldom saw one of my many gifts remain in their hands for more than a few days. Each time I took leave of a band, after a few weeks or a few months, its members had time to become the happy boarders of axes, knives, beads, and so on. As a rule, however, the chief was exactly as poor as at my first arrival. Everything he had received from me (and this was considerably more than the average) had already been squeezed out of him. This collective greediness not seldom drives the chief to an almost desperate position; then the refusal to give plays about the same part, in this primitive democracy, as the threat to resign followed by a vote of confidence in a modern parliament. When a chief reaches the point where he must say: "To give away is over! To be generous is over! Let another be generous in my place!", he must, indeed, be sure of his power and prestige, for his rule is undergoing its severest crisis.

Ingenuity is but the intellectual form of generosity. A great deal

361 clude at least one stretch of river and the "galeria"
621 forest which lines its banks. Except during the planting and harvesting season the members of the band are on the move up and down the narrow confines of the territory. Within this hunting territory they have camping places rather than villages. A semipermanent camp site where fields are cultivated for 2 or 3 years is known as *sinoikre*. Any place where the band or a family may stop overnight is known as *sikwe*. At present the
342 Wakitiu band has one house (*sive*) at the place
621 where it is farming. The entire band occupies the house, each family having its own fire around
[513] which it sleeps at night. The unmarried men gather around another fire. Julio informed me that their house is rectangular with stake walls and a gable roof covered with sapé thatch. Some years ago when the band was larger he said they occupied a different place on which they built three houses. These houses were built by placing a series of saplings into the ground to form an oval. The tops were then fastened to a ridge pole, the framework being covered with sapé or palm fronds. A smaller beehive-shaped house is made
[343 in the same way. Houses of this type are from
346] 6 to 10 feet high. Near the living house they build a small flute hut (*sinaddéhikwe*) and, when the occasion demands, a shaman's hut (*sikkiwtre*).

342 If the weather is cold while they are out hunting the band or the family may build a temporary brush hut for the night. Sometimes only a windbreak (*sinddehi*) is considered sufficient. On warm nights during the dry season the group camps under a tree. In favorite hunting places the same camp site will be used repeatedly.
[241] When the soil around the permanent camp site or village becomes exhausted, fields are cleared some distance away and small huts are put up for the workers. As the distance increases the old camp site is eventually abandoned and a new camp site is established.

352 As the Nambicuara do not use hammocks, beds, or seats, there is not much in the way of
415 furniture in their shelters. Utensils are restricted to a few gourd vessels, tin cans, burden baskets and small flat baskets, fire fans, bows and arrows,
[482 and tools used by men. When they move, these
463] articles are placed in burden baskets which are carried by the women. The Wakitiu do not

[P. 38 (10)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

The Wakitis do not
323 make pottery, but they sometimes acquire pots from the Parecsi in exchange for game or fish.

HUNTING, FISHING, AND COLLECTING

621 Today, at least, the Wakitis band is a producing and consuming unit. Whatever a man or his family gathers is shared among the band. This, however, does not mean that the whole band goes out every day or that they keep together while out hunting, fishing, and collecting. Except
584 when the men go hunting such large game as the jaguar, tapir, and peccary, the acquisitive unit is the family. Every morning while Julio's band was camped in Utiarity a family or two could be seen going out, the husband walking in front armed with bow and arrow, the wife following
[482 and carrying a burden basket on her back and a
458 baby strapped on her hip, an older child following
222 her. As they move slowly along they collect fruits, nuts, insects, snakes, ants, lizards, rats,
226 wild honey, and a great variety of grubs or larvae. When they come to a pond they wade around with small baskets in their hands and scoop out small fish. On one of these trips I observed them
[252 catching fish that were only 2 inches in length.
262 These were later thrown on hot coals and eaten
223 without being cleaned. Small birds no larger
222 than a sparrow are shot if the man can get near
[34] enough to use his bow and arrow. If they come to a burid stalk of the right size they will cut it
313 down, put it into the burden basket, and take it to camp. On their way home they will usually pick up dry firewood. Thus, when a family returns at nightfall the basket will be full of a wide assortment of foods and useful materials.

224 Monkeys, deer, and large birds are generally
[177] stalked by a single hunter, particularly if he has a gun. Julio and Marciano each owned a shotgun and quite often hunted alone. If a man goes out in the morning and runs onto a group of peccaries he will hurry back to camp, and all the men will then go to where the peccaries are feeding. When they hear the peccaries the hunters will form into three files, one heading directly toward the pigs, the other two flanking the game on each side. When near enough the middle file stops and spreads out, the other two files then slowly surround the pigs. As the flanking movement is going on the pigs sometimes move, but the middle group of hunters maintains contact

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[p. 136 (2)]

Plate III

A

B

C

D

(See captions on next page.)

8:Veiland--16 D.E-6 (1939) 1939 SP17 Nambikwara SP17